

## Message Text

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45

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 SR-02 ORM-03 SY-10 USSS-00

A-01 OPR-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 CCO-00 TRSE-00

OMB-01 DRC-01 OC-06 /184 W  
----- 116289

P R 301530Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4960

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSIN USUN

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY RABAT

S E C R E T BEIRUT 12586

DEPT PASS USINT CAIRO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINS JO LE XF

SUBJECT: FEDAYEEN POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN WAKE OF ME CEASE-FIRE

REF: AMMAN 5753 (NOTAL

SUMMARY: MAJOR FEDAYEEN ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS NOW  
APPEAR TO BE SEEKING REGAIN INFLUENCE BY TRYING TO REACH

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AGREEMENT ON POLITICAL POSITION PALESTINIANS SHOULD

ADOPT IN CONTEXT ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.  
LEADING IDEA SEEMS TO BE THAT OF CREATING INDEPENDENT  
PALESTINIAN STATE ON WEST BANK/GAZA, WHICH IS  
FIRST TIME FEDAYEEN LEADERS SEEM TO HAVE ACCEPTED  
REALITY THAT THEIR ONLY HOPE IS IN A SETTLEMENT BASED ON  
RES 242. DESPITE OBVIOUS PROBLEMS POSED BY INDEPENDENT  
STATE CONCEPT, IT REPRESENTS PROPOSITION WHICH WILL RE-  
QUIRE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION DURING COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS.  
END SUMMARY.

1. ONE SIGNIFICANT RESULT OF OCT 6-22 WAR HAS BEEN DECREASE  
IN PRESTIGE AND INFLUENCE OF FEDAYEEN AND GREATER "REALISM"  
AMONG THEIR LEADERS ABOUT PALESTINIAN GOALS. PALESTINIANS  
APPEAR TO RECOGNIZE THEIR WEAKNESS IN COMPARISON ARAB  
GOVTS AND ARMIES WHICH TOOK SUCH FIRM POSITIONS DURING  
RECENT FIGHTING, INCLUDING THOSE GULF STATES WHICH HAVE  
APPLIED OIL EMBARGO. FAILURE OF FEDAYEEN TO MAKE SERIOUS  
MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO ARAB CAUSE, BLATANTLY FALSE FEDA-  
YEEN PROPAGANDA, AND VIRTUAL INACTION BY 1.3 MILLION  
PALESTINIANS LIVING IN ISRAEL AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES  
HAVE BADLY DAMAGED FEDAYEEN PRESTIGE. FEDAYEEN RELUCTANCE  
INCUR WRATH OF ARAB REGIMES IS, WE BELIEVE, PRIMARY REASON  
FOR ABSENCE TO DATE OF MAJOR FEDAYEEN EFFORTS DISRUPT  
CEASE-FIRE BY CROSS-BORDER AND OTHER TERRORIST OPERATIONS.

2. PERHAPS BECAUSE OF OBVIOUS MILITARY WEAKNESS, FEDAYEEN  
LEADERSHIP SEEMS BE SCRAMBLING FOR SOME POLITICAL MEANS  
REGAIN INFLUENCE WITH ARAB GOVTS AND IMAGE OF LEADERSHIP  
FOR PALESTINIANS GENERALLY. FEDAYEEN APPARENTLY INTEND  
PLAY DIRECT AND/OR INDIRECT PART IN ANY ARAB NEGOTIATIONS.  
FOR SETTLEMENT OF CONFLICT. THEY COUNTING HEAVILY UPON  
FACT THAT ARAB GOVTS HAVE CONDITIONED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF  
CEASE-FIRE, NEGOTIATIONS AND REMOVAL OF OIL EMBARGO,  
INTER ALIA, ON SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF  
"RIGHTS" OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. ARAB GOVTS SEEM GENUINELY  
PERSUADED THAT UNLESS THIS FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM RESOLVED  
THERE WILL BE NO POSSIBILITY LONG-TERM PEACE IN AREA.  
FEDAYEEN HOPE TO PRESENT SELVES AS ONLY POSSIBLE SPOKES-  
MEN FOR PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

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3. IDEA APPARENTLY BEING MOST ACTIVELY CONSIDERED IN  
SPATE OF MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS AMONG PLO LEADERSHIP  
AND INFLUENTIAL PALESTINIAN INTELLECTUALS AND BUSINESSMEN  
HERE IS ENDORSEMENT OF CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT WEST BANK/  
GAZA PALESTINIAN STATE ALONG LINES ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY  
EGYPTIAN FOMIN IN UNSC JUNE 6. THERE ARE OTHER IDEAS UNDER  
CONSIDERATION BUT THIS ONE SEEMS HAVE INSTANT POLITICAL  
APPEAL IN ARAB CIRCLES (OF ALL MAJOR ARAB GOVTS, ONLY IRAQ

AND LIBY A ARE LIKELY TO OPPOSE IT OUTRIGHT). WE HAVE REPORTS THAT USSR EMBASSY AND ALGERIANS HERE ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING IT.

4. MERE FACT THAT MAJOR FEDAYEEN LEADERS ARE TALKING IN RELATIVELY MODERATE TERMS ABOUT PARTICIPATING IN NEGOTIATIONS, INSTEAD OF RESORTING TO EXTREME VIOLENCE TO TRY AND BLOCK POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT ALONG LINES SC RES 242, MUST BE RELIEF TO MANY ARAB GOVTS. WE HAVE REPORTS THAT IDEA IS ACCEPTABLE TO MOST MEMBERS PLO/EX COMMAND THAT FURTHER MEETINGS OF EX COMM LIKELY TO BE FOLLOWED BY SESSION OF PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL (PNC), FOR PURPOSE OF DEFINING COMMON PALESTINIAN POSITION. DECISIVE VOICE IN ULTIMATE DECISION LIKELY BE THAT OF 'ARAFAT WHO, DESPITE MANY SHORTCOMINGS AND OPPONENTS, HAS MUCH BIGGER FOLLOWING AMONG PALESTINIANS OUTSIDE JORDAN AND ISRAEL THAN ANY OTHER INDIVIDUAL.

5. EVEN SHOULD IDEA OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATES BE ADOPTED BY PALESTINE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND GAIN SUPPORT OF SOME KEY ARAB GOVTS, IMMENSE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES WOULD REMAIN, SUCH AS LIKELIHOOD OF STRONG OPPOSITION FROM ISRAEL AND JORDANIAN GOVTS. AMONG OTHER PROBLEMS WOULD BE COMPOSITION OF GOVT FOR ENVISAGED NEW STATE, DIFFICULTY STEMMING FROM INTRA-FEDAYEEN RIVALRIES WHICH BLOCKED PAST EFFORTS CREATE PALESTINIAN GOVT IN EXILE AS WELL AS WEAK SUPPORT FOR PLO WITHIN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS INTERESTING THAT MOST FEDAYEEN LEADERS ARE TALKING OPENLY FOR FIRST TIME ABOUT PALESTINIAN ENTITY LOCATED OUTSIDE ISRAEL'S PRE-JUNE 1967 BOUNDARIES. MOREOVER, THERE IS APPARENT ACCEPTANCE BY FEDAYEEN AND ARAB GOVTS THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT TAKE BACK, AT MOST, MORE THAN TINY NUMBER OF PALESTINIAN REFUGEES. PALESTINIANS HERE APPEAR BE GIVING LITTLE CONSIDERATION TO TRADITIONAL  
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ISSUES OF REFUGEE RIGHTS TO RETURN AND/OR RECEIVED COMPENSATION.

6. CONCERNING PARA 2 REFTTEL, WE BELIEVE REPORT OF PENDING CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GOL AND FEDAYEEN IS INCORRECT. ALL EVIDENCE POINTS TO DETERMINATION BY MAIN FEDAYEEN GROUPS NOT RPT NOT TO ROCK BOAT WITH GOL OR OTHER ARAB GOVTS BY PROVOKING ARMED VIOLENCE DURING PERIOD WHEN SERIOUS PLANNING OF FUTURE POLITICAL STRATEGY IS ORDER OF DAY. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT SOME OF SMALLER, MORE EXTREME FEDAYEEN GROUPS MIGHT NOT RESORT TO VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, SO LONG AS ATTITUDES OF MAJOR FEDAYEEN GROUPS AND ARAB GOVTS REMAIN WHAT THEY ARE TODAY (BEIRUT 12488), WE BELIEVE ACTIONS OF SMALL GROUPS IN LEBANON CAN BE CONTROLLED WITHOUT MAJOR GOL-FEDAYEEN CONFRONTATION. SHOULD

FEDAYEEN POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS BE BADLY DISAPPOINTED  
BY ARAB GOVTS, OR SHOULD NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL APPEAR  
HEADED FOR IMPASSE, WE WOULD EXPECT FEDAYEEN TO SERIOUSLY  
CONSIDER REVERSION TO EXTREMISM AND VIOLENCE, INCLUDING  
POSSIBLE TERRORISM AGAINST ARAB GOVTS AS WELL AS AMERICAN  
INTERESTS AND ISRAEL. BUFFUM

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED CAIRO.

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## Message Attributes

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